

## Message Text

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ACTION NEA-10

INFO OCT-01 ARA-10 EUR-12 ISO-00 IO-13 CIAE-00 DODE-00  
PM-05 H-01 INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01  
SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 MCT-01 TRSE-00 OMB-01 AID-05  
/101 W

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R 160330Z MAR 78  
FM AMEMBASSY KABUL  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 5981  
INFO AMEMBASSY BELGRADE  
/USINT HAVANA 006  
AMEMBASSY ISLAMABAD  
AMEMBASSY JIDDA  
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW  
AMEMBASSY NEW DELHI  
AMEMBASSY TEHRAN  
AMEMBASSY TRIPOLI  
USUN NEW YORK 709

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 KABUL 2046

E. O. 11652: GDS  
TAGS: PEPR, PGOV, YO, LY, IN, PK, AF  
SUBJECT: DAOUD'S VISIT TO YUGOSLAVIA, LIBYA, AND SOUTH ASIA  
SEEN BY AFGHAN AS RESOUNDING SUCCESS

1. SUMMARY. PRESIDENT DAOUD'S TWO-WEEK VISIT TO SEVERAL COUNTRIES IS ASSESSED BY MOST OFFICIAL OBSERVERS HERE AS SUCCESSFUL DESPITE THE RELATIVE ABSENCE OF SPECIFIC AGREEMENTS. THE RECEPTIONS AFFORDED THE AFGHAN LEADER IN INDIA, AND, ESPECIALLY, PAKISTAN WERE EXTREMELY WARM, AND, IN THE LATTER CASE, REFLECT A STATE OF GOOD BILATERAL RELATIONS WHICH IS, IN MANY MINDS, UNPRECEDENTED. IN THIS REGARD, THE AGREEMENT TO SET UP A PAK-AFGHAN JOINT ECONOMIC COMMISSION IS A SIGNIFICANT STEP FORWARD TOWARD INSTITUTIONALIZING THE TWO COUNTRIES' RELATIONS. END SUMMARY.

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2. YUGOSLAVIA. ACCORDING TO MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS (MFA) AND YUGOSLAV SOURCES HERE, DAOUD'S VISIT PROVIDED AN OPPORTUNITY FOR TWO OF THE REMAINING FOUNDERS OF THE NON-ALIGNED MOVEMENT (NAM) TO DISCUSS THE VARIOUS UPCOMING NAM MEETINGS, AND TO EXPRESS THEIR MUTUAL RESERVATIONS REGARDING DIRECTIONS THE NAM MAY TAKE UNDER CUBA'S IMMINENT CHAIRMANSHIP. THE AFGHANS CONFIRM

THAT THE ABSENCE FROM THE JOINT COMMUNIQUE OF ANY REFERENCE TO THE NAM HAVANA SUMMIT IN 1979 WAS DELIBERATE, AND WAS MEANT TO BE A WARNING SIGNAL TO THE CUBANS THAT THESE TWO PARTICULAR NAM MEMBERS DO NOT RELISH THE PROSPECT OF RADICAL NAM ACTIVITIES OR POLICIES. THE AFGHANS, HOWEVER, CONCEDE THAT THE DIPLOMATIC PLOY OF THE COMMUNIQUE MIGHT HAVE BEEN TOO SUBTLE FOR THE CUBANS, ALTHOUGH THEY HOPE THAT SUCH A "SNUB" FROM THE TWO HOSTS OF THE SOON-TO-BE-HELD NAM MINISTERIAL MEETINGS WILL HAVE A DAMPENING EFFECT ON CUBAN FIREBRANDS.

3. SOME MFA SOURCES SEEM A BIT SENSITIVE REGARDING THE JOINT COMMUNIQUE'S MIDDLE EAST FORMULATION. ALTHOUGH THEY INSIST THAT AFGHANISTAN SUPPORTS THE RIGHT OF ALL NATIONS OF THE MIDDLE EAST TO INDEPENDENT EXISTENCE FOLLOWING A PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT, THE AFGHAN GOVERNMENT "DOES NOT USUALLY" INCLUDE IN OFFICIAL STATEMENTS OR COMMUNIQUE'S LANGUAGE REGARDING ISRAEL'S SECURITY. WHY AN EXCEPTION WAS MADE IN THIS CASE IS UNCLEAR SO FAR, BUT WE HAVE HEARD THAT THE LIBYANS WERE NOT OVERLY PLEASED WITH THE COMMUNIQUE'S LANGUAGE WHEN THE AFGHAN DELEGATION ARRIVED IN TRIPOLI.

4. LIBYA. THE AFGHANS CONTEND THAT THE TALKS WITH QADHAFI WENT WELL, EVEN THOUGH THEY ADMIT THE LIBYAN LEADER IS SOMETIMES A "TEMPERAMENTAL" MAN. THE AFGHANS INSIST THAT THE MECHANICS AND PROTOCOL ASPECTS OF THE VISIT WERE OUTSTANDING, AND THAT QADHAFI "WENT OUT OF HIS WAY" TO BE A GRACIOUS HOST. NEVERTHELESS, WE  
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HAVE HEARD CONVINCING REPORTS THAT ALL DID NOT GO WELL UPON DAOUD'S ARRIVAL, AND THAT THE AFGHAN PRESIDENT WAS INCENSED AT HIS INITIAL TREATMENT.

5. SUBSTANTIVELY, PRESIDENT DAOUD REPORTEDLY "SPOKE TO QADHAFI" ABOUT AFGHAN CONCERNS OVER RECENT MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD ACTIVITIES "IN OTHER COUNTRIES," AN ORGANIZATION "FINANCIALLY AND MORALLY SUPPORTED" BY THE LIBYANS. HOW FAR THIS DISCUSSION WENT IS NOT YET CLEAR, BUT THE DAOUD REGIME HAS BEEN WORRIED RECENTLY ABOUT THE POTENTIAL DOMESTIC POLITICAL THREAT POSED BY THE RADICAL RIGHTISTS, AND THE EMERGENCE OF THIS SUBJECT WITH THE LIBYANS UNDERSCORES THE SERIOUSNESS OF AFGHAN CONCERN. QADHAFI'S REACTION WAS NOT DESCRIBED FOR US.

6. THE BILATERAL ECONOMIC AND TECHNICAL COOPERATION AGREEMENT SIGNED DURING THE VISIT REPRESENTED AN "AGREEMENT IN PRINCIPLE," BUT THE AFGHANS APPARENTLY ARE NOT CONVINCED THAT GREAT AMOUNTS OF OIL MONEY WILL BE FORTHCOMING ANY TIME SOON. FINALLY, DAOUD REPORTEDLY TOOK THE OPPORTUNITY TO LECTURE QADHAFI -- AS APPARENTLY QADHAFI LECTURED DAOUD SEVERAL YEARS AGO -- ON THE NECESSITY TO MAINTAIN A CERTAIN DISTANCE FROM THE SOVIET UNION, LEST A SMALL NATION RISK THE LOSS OF ITS "INDEPENDENCE" IN FOREIGN

POLICY.

7. INDIA. EVEN THOUGH A GREAT DEAL OF ATTENTION WAS DEVOTED TO DAOUD'S STOP IN INDIA, THE AFGHANS CHARACTERIZE THIS SEGMENT OF HIS TRIP AS ESSENTIALLY A "GET-ACQUAINTED AND GOOD-WILL MISSION." THEY CLAIM THAT THE TALKS PROVIDED AN OCCASION FOR DAOUD TO MEET AND MEASURE THE NEW INDIAN LEADERSHIP, BUT THAT NO MAJOR ITEMS OF IMMEDIATE POLITICAL INTEREST WERE DISCUSSED. ECONOMIC CO-OPERATION REPORTEDLY REPRESENTED THE PRIMARY SUBSTANCE OF THE VISIT, WHILE THE PROPER NOISES WERE MADE PUBLICLY REGARDING THE NAM, NIEO, SOUTH AFRICA, ETC. HOWEVER, ATMOSPHERICS CAN SOMETIMES CONSTITUTE SUBSTANCE, AND, IN THIS REGARD, THE AFGHANS CAME AWAY WITH AN EXTREMELY POSITIVE IMPRESSION OF DAOUD'S RECEPTION BY THE NEW INDIAN LEADERS.

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R 160330Z MAR 78

FM AMEMBASSY KABUL

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 5982

INFO AMEMBASSY BELGRADE

/USINT HAVANA 007

AMEMBASSY ISLAMABAD

AMEMBASSY JIDDA

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY NEW DELHI

AMEMBASSY TEHRAN

AMEMBASSY TRIPOLI

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 KABUL 2046

8. PAKISTAN. CAPSTONE OF THE ENTIRE TWO-WEEK TRIP WAS DAOUD'S STOP IN PAKISTAN, WHERE, ACCORDING TO THE AFGHANS, HIS WELCOME WAS "UNPRECEDENTED." THE MINI-EUPHORIA EMANATING FROM THE MFA HAS BEEN SECONDED HERE BY THE PAKISTANI CHARGE TANVIR AHMAD KHAN WHO DESCRIBED THE VISIT AS A "MILESTONE" IN PAK-AFGHAN RELATIONS, AND CLAIMED THAT IT IS ONLY A MATTER OF TIME BEFORE THE QUESTION OF PUSHTUNISTAN WILL BE SOLVED. ACCORDING TO TANVIR, THE MATTER CAN BE DISPOSED OF IN TWO WAYS, EITHER BY AN OFFICIAL AFGHAN DECLARATION THAT THE PUSHTUNISTAN QUESTION IS RESOLVED, OR BY SIMPLY LETTING IT QUIETLY DISAPPEAR. NOT SURPRISINGLY, THE AFGHANS ARE MUCH LESS SPECIFIC ON THIS PARTICULAR ISSUE, AND PREFER TO CITE DAOUD'S PRESS CONFERENCE RESPONSE THAT "WE HAVE BEEN ABLE TO TAKE A STEP FORWARD ON THE RIGHT PATH TOWARDS THE SOLUTION OF THIS PROBLEM." IN THIS REGARD, BAZAAR RUMORS CONTENT THAT DAOUD HAS TAKEN A FEW DAYS OFF TO

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VISIT JALALABAD, IN ORDER TO EXPLAIN TO PUSHTUN HARDLINERS WHY HE HAS BECOME SO "SOFT ON PUSHTUNISTAN."

9. AFGHAN AND PAK OBSERVERS HERE CONTEND THAT THE AGREEMENT TO ESTABLISH A JOINT ECONOMIC COMMISSION HAS SIGNIFICANT POLITICAL OVERTONES, SINCE IT WOULD REPRESENT THE FIRST STEP IN "INSTITUTIONALIZING" THE COUNTRIES' BILATERAL RELATIONS, AND COULD LEAD TO A BROADER FRAMEWORK OF OFFICIAL TIES. NO ONE HERE, HOWEVER, HAS AS YET DISCLOSED ANY SPECIFIC INFORMATION REGARDING THE MAKEUP OR MANDATE OF THE JOINT COMMISSION.

10. DAOUD'S GROUP MEETINGS WITH WALI KHAN AND OTHER PAKISTANI POLITICAL LEADERS ARE DESCRIBED TO US BY THE AFGHANS AS ESSENTIALLY SYMBOLIC AND GENERALLY DEVOID OF SUBSTANCE. THE PAKS, HOWEVER, ARE PRESENTING THE ENTIRE EPISODE AS A SUCCESSFUL PLOY TO DEMONSTRATE TO DAOUD, BY MEANS OF PERSONAL CONFRONTATIONS, THAT THESE LEADERS ARE CONTENT TO SEEK "REGIONAL AUTONOMY" WITHIN THE FEDERATION FRAMEWORK, AND THERE ARE NONE WHO SEEK ANY SORT OF STATUS BEYOND THIS. TANVIR CLAIMS THAT DAOUD "CLEARLY GOT THE MESSAGE," AND THAT THE AFGHAN LEADER WILL, AS A RESULT, ADOPT APPROPRIATE POLICIES TO SEEK THE SOLUTION TO THE SOLE POLITICAL DIFFERENCE TO WHICH HE REFERRED IN HIS PRESS CONFERENCE STATEMENT.

11. COMMENT: IN OUR VIEW, THE AFGHANS PROBABLY ACHIEVED AS MUCH AS POSSIBLE FROM THE TRIP, AND THE RECEPTIONS IN INDIA AND PAKISTAN PROBABLY EXCEEDED THEIR EXPECTATIONS. THEY SEEM REALISTIC REGARDING INCREASED ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE FROM LIBYA OR INDIA, BUT, ON THE OTHER HAND, THE AFGHAN ECONOMY MAY BE APPROACHING ITS FOREIGN ASSISTANCE SATURATION POINT. ON THE POLITICAL FRONT, THE NAM OCCUPIED CENTER STAGE, AND THE ATTENTION GIVEN TO CUBA'S TROUBLE-MAKING POTENTIAL CLEARLY REFLECTED KABUL'S DESIRE TO HOST A FRICTION-FREE NACC FOREIGN MINISTERS MEETING IN MAY. DAOUD'S

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VEILED "WARNING" TO QADHAFI RE THE MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD HIGHLIGHTS THIS REGIME'S PERCEPTION OF THE DOMESTIC THREAT POISED BY RADICAL RIGHTISTS. FINALLY, THE AFGHAN MEDIA'S TREATMENT OF DAOUD'S TRAVELS WAS EXTENSIVE -- NOT SURPRISING, GIVEN THE NATURE OF THIS REGIME -- AND CONTINUED SEVERAL DAYS AFTER THE PRESIDENT'S RETURN, WITH PICTURES OF DAOUD WITH GENERAL ZIA, WALI KHAN, AND MUFTI MAHMOUD PRINTED AS LATE AS MARCH 11.

12. AS FOR THE NEAR FUTURE, WE HAVE HEARD THAT THE ABORTED TRIPS TO EGYPT AND SAUDI ARABIA MAY MATERIALIZE "SOON," AND ONE MEMBER OF THE PRESIDENT'S ENTOURAGE COMMENTED THAT DAOUD WILL BE TRAVELLING AGAIN WITHIN THE NEXT MONTH.  
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## Message Attributes

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**TAGS:** PEPR, PGOV, YO, LY, IN, PK, AF, (DAOUD, MOHAMMAD)  
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